

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 687

August 26, 1949

THREEPENCE

More disclosures from behind the scenes

"Keep the people artificially alarmed"

A U.S. Senator reveals that among the American delegation at the Paris Council of Foreign Ministers were some who opposed the acceptance of the Soviet offer of a truce on grounds that a relaxation of the tension was undesirable.

Under the heading "Who Advocated Deception?" a leading article in the Cincinnati Post quotes from a speech by Senator John Foster Dulles in the Senate, in support of the North Atlantic Treaty, in which he made what that paper rightly calls a "startling statement."

According to this source, Senator Dulles said:

"At Paris last month there was some discussion as to whether to accept at all the Soviet-proffered truce and to resume, even on a tentative basis, four-power consultations."

"The reason was that some feared any relaxation of East-West tension would bring a corresponding relaxation on the part of the American people, and therefore they needed to be kept artificially alarmed."

Senator Dulles then went on to say that the majority of the delegation rejected that thesis.

They believed, he said, that the American people could be trusted with the truth and that they would see that, even if the peril in Europe seemed less imminent, "still the European Recovery Programme and the North Atlantic treaty could not now be abandoned without consequences of the gravest character."

Who were the 'Some'?

The article then proceeds to say that this "astounding revelation—that certain persons representing our Government at Paris felt the American people needed 'to be kept artificially alarmed'—has since been confirmed by Secretary of State Acheson. But, it adds—

"One pertinent question remains unanswered. If a majority of the American delegation felt the people could be trusted, who were the 'some' that did not?"

"Who wanted to maintain East-West tension at the risk of war, to insure Congress's approval of European-aid programmes? Senator Dulles declined to tell a reporter."

It concludes with the demand that Congress should get an answer to that question and that it should be revealed to the American people.

But artificial alarm continues

This newspaper's protest, though commendable, is limited in its objective.

The maintenance of the tension and of the "artificial alarm" is by no means the work of a minority of members of the American delegation at Paris.

These men, whoever they are, are merely representatives of large sections in political and Press circles in whose interests it is

that the alarm and tension should be kept up, and they still continue to maintain it. Little purpose would be served by the publicity of the delegates' names and the disclosure of a few scapegoats.

The important question is:—What is the truth with which Senator Dulles says the American people can be trusted?

What is the danger threatening America, against which the American government is calling upon the Western world to defend itself at a cost which threatens its economic recovery?

And what are those "grave consequences" which would result if this crippling expenditure were diverted into constructive channels?

The American people, to say nothing of America's satellites, are as far off as ever from learning that truth.

FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

London conference prepares for world religious convention

AN attempt is being made to co-ordinate all the moral and spiritual forces scattered throughout the world, and join them in opposition to war and support of a Federation of Mankind in which all tribes, races and nations are free partners.

The first step was taken in London on Saturday, when a "Foundation of Peace" convention was opened at 51 Lancaster Gate, W2, headquarters of the Vedanta Movement.

The convention intends to prepare the ground for a world convention of religions on the Foundations of Peace, to be held in London in August, 1950.

Chairman of the present convention is Swami Avyaktananda, who opened the first meeting. "The people of the world can have peace if they are ready to work earnestly for it," he said. "The prospect of world peace is brighter in this age than in any other period of known history, provided we use all our resources and organisational facilities."

"Let us demand a planned world economy for the welfare of all nations, and remove all the present barriers to trade. Let us create understanding between the two ideological blocs, so that we can evolve world-wide political and economic democracy on the basis of liberty of conscience."

The first speaker was Sir John Stewart Wallace, chairman of the World Congress of Faiths, who asked: What is the foundation of peace? The statesmen of the world would say that it was enormous, overwhelming force. All the great secular figures of the past had taken that view, and we had seen that as the forces grew bigger, the empires which they had intended to build or defend had endured for shorter and shorter periods of time.

Golden Rule is universal

"You and I and our country are going on in the same old way," he said. "There is a great moral disintegration throughout the world which is spreading to our very children. Yet the preparation for war as a means of attaining peace is the supreme fallacy in which mankind indulges."

All the great faiths, said Sir John, were opposed to war; all paid allegiance to the golden rule: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." He himself could not go as far as some pacifists. He believed that, without contradicting the teaching of Jesus, one could say that there was a time and a season for all things—to fight, as well as to forgive. But the moment not to fight was when you were in a position to overwhelm your enemy.

"If we want to eliminate war, we have

An American reaction to Churchill's 'cover-up'

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S recent statement that Roosevelt sprang the unconditional surrender policy on him at a Press conference without giving him time to consider it has drawn a flat denial from a leading U.S. newspaper.

Writing in the American Daily News on July 24, John O'Donnell, the well-known political columnist, virtually gives the lie to Churchill in his popular feature headed "Capitol Stuff." He says:—

"In the House of Commons last week that tough fighter, Winston Churchill, ducked away from some lusty swings of Labour's Ernie Bevin and then covered up and yelled that the late Franklin Roosevelt had pulled a fast one on him when the U.S. President sounded off with his 'unconditional surrender' blast at the Casablanca Conference, January, 1943."

"According to the House of Commons reports, Churchill declared that . . . he never heard of it until Roosevelt announced it at the Press conference after the Casablanca meeting."

O'Donnell quotes from the printed diary of FDR's son Elliott, "who acted as his father's 'aide' and cocktail mixer for the big shots at the session."

The diary describes how on January 23 at lunch there were Churchill, Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt and himself, and at the lunch table the phrase was born:

"It can be recorded that it was father's phrase . . . and that Churchill, while he slowly munched a mouthful of food, thought, frowned, thought, finally grinned, and at length announced: 'Perfect! And I can see how Goebbels and the rest of 'em 'll squeal!'"

It then goes on to describe how after lunch Hopkins started on a draft of the statement of policy and undertook to have something in shape in time for the Press conference next day. The diary proceeds:

"After dinner, and on into the slender hours, father and the PM (Churchill) and Hopkins worked away at the final draft of the joint communiqué . . . and at 2.30, Churchill lifted his ever-ready glass in toast:

"'Unconditional surrender.' He put no exclamation point after it; there was only determination. We all drank."

Then comes the description of the Press conference, when—"side by side, father and Churchill sat and talked of the conference . . . The PM's homburg was perched jauntily on his head, his cigar swivelled from side to side; he was in fine fettle. 'Unconditional surrender': the correspondents' pencils jotted down swift notes."

What the soldiers thought of it

Columnist O'Donnell then goes on to moralise upon the policy on his own account. He quotes Major General J. F. C. Fuller, "Britain's most distinguished military critic and historian of the last war," who said:

"Henceforth those two words were to hang like a putrefying albatross around the necks of America and Britain."

"They certainly did," adds O'Donnell. "America's leaders in the field were quick to discover how effective a propaganda weapon FDR had given the nation's foes. The August following . . . Captain H. C. Butcher was writing in his 'My Three Years With Eisenhower':—

"What had appeared to be the quick collapse of Italy has disappeared . . . The Italians are solidifying their position and really fighting. At headquarters we are inclined to attribute this to the hard-boiled attitude of the Prime Minister and the President, who publicly insisted on 'unconditional surrender.'"

Which of them is true?

The public is left to choose between these two accounts, one of which must be a gross inexactitude, terminological and factual.

Other critics estimate Churchill's foreknowledge of the policy as even longer. Chester Wilmut, in a long letter to The

TWO DEFINITIONS

Opening RAF Week at Birmingham on Monday, Mr. Henderson, Air Secretary, said:

"I like to call myself a pacifist. I mean by pacifism hatred of war. I find myself able to throw all my energies into building up the RAF again."

A pacifist is here defined as one who builds up an air force.

An air force is an instrument for, among other things, the torture and extermination of helpless civilians, including mothers and children.

Another definition of a pacifist is one who utterly renounces war, on the principle that good ends do not justify evil means, nor national safety the massacre of the innocents.

If Mr. Henderson calls indiscriminate slaughter pacifism, he must not complain if other people call black white or totalitarianism democracy.

Words should have some meaning or not be used at all.

Observer of July 24, quotes Roosevelt Junior's diary, but adds—

"Although the President's son gives the date of this lunch as Jan. 23, it is clear from his own book and other sources that it took place on the 18th, six days before the Press conference."

"If this is so, there was ample time for the Prime Minister to consult the War Cabinet before the President made his public statement. Indeed . . . it was believed in diplomatic circles that he had availed himself of the opportunity . . . The records of the War Cabinet could no doubt settle this question once for all. Is there any reason why they should be kept secret?"

This is a reasonable demand, if only to justify the late President, who, although he may have been responsible for the idea, certainly did not (if the above account is at all true) spring it on the others in the high-handed manner attributed to him in elevated British quarters.

And they'd do it again

None of the war leaders can, indeed, escape responsibility.

The unprecedented wickedness of obliteration bombing, which marked the final abandonment, by "Christian" and non-Christian nations, of all pretence of morality, humanity and rules of war, was not sprung on anybody.

It was planned carefully, with cold calculation, by statesmen, officers and gentlemen on both sides of the Atlantic. And that atrocity was all part of the unconditional surrender policy.

When in 1944 Vera Brittain published her pamphlet, "Massacre By Bombing," she drew upon herself strong public criticism from Roosevelt himself, and counted 200 conspicuous Press attacks upon herself before she gave up counting.

That policy of deliberate mass-slaughter of civilians was started by Sir Arthur Harris in the spring of 1943. Its purpose was to break the spirits of German civilians so that they would "let their army down" as they did in 1918. But the Germans of 1945 were tougher: despite their massacre they held on till all Germany was occupied by its enemies.

It is therefore not easy to see why our present leaders are today so anxious to apologise for that policy, since they are now preparing to do it all over again on an even larger scale, and in a kind of war in which no one would have a chance to surrender, conditionally or unconditionally.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1949

NEXT week's Peace News will be a special issue commemorating the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of World War II and supporting the demonstrations which will be taking place outside Labour Exchanges as 18-year-old boys register for military service or as conscientious objectors.

The issue will contain a complete list of the Advisory Bureau for Conscientious Objectors in the British Isles.

Extra copies of this issue for free distribution will be available at half-price for orders of one dozen or more. Please order now.

Not a single recruit has joined the Territorial Army as the result of the big recruiting display at Bournemouth on Thursday night, when motor launches, a landing craft, guns and searchlights were used in an "invasion" exercise which attracted more than 50,000 people to the cliffs and beach.

—Evening News, August 8, 1949

(continued on page six)

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Study in blues

WHEN Archidamus saw a dart shot from an engine brought from Sicily, he exclaimed, "Good God! True valour has gone forever!"

We are indebted to the late Mr. Plutarch for this information.

Since Archi's day valour has travelled a long way, and in recent years its retreat has put on a spurt that beats all records.

We may assume that what shocked that ancient Greek was that he saw in that primitive form of mechanisation the abandonment of the first rule of honourable combat, by which a man fought on equal terms with his adversary and scorned any other test of superiority but that of his own physical prowess.

We don't know what he'd say if he saw a modern Great Power arming for war, but we hope he'd say it in Greek.

Choosing one at random from many daily examples, we would recommend to his notice the speech of US Defence Secretary Louis Johnson, referred to on this page.

Nothing could better express the utterly ignoble spirit of modern power politics and the moral cowardice at the heart of modern militarism.

The most powerful country in the world, with material resources out of all comparison with any other country's must (according to Mr. Johnson) be surrounded by buffer states and sandbag peoples thousands of miles away before its rulers can sleep o' nights.

Further, we cannot avoid the suspicion that this ridiculous arms plan would never have been started had not the US possessed a weapon far more deadly than anybody else's. Whatever earlier poets saw of nobility in national defence, it has degenerated into sheer ignoble jitters, and we prefer the days when nations boasted of their thin red lines and neglected their defences in the faith that any one of them could fight two foreigners.

Skipping a couple of millennia, we should like to hear the late George Washington's opinion of the present state of mind of his successors.

Our own government has caught the goosy infection from the Washington source. We are co-operating with America in creating the greatest fighting force in history, sacrificing to it a steadily mounting proportion of our urgently needed resources and closing our ears to the claims of the world's underfed, in order to defend ourselves against an enemy who has not shown any intention of attacking us.

It is beyond our capacity to diagnose the cause of this morbid neurosis, except to guess that it has something to do with a complete lack of any kind of faith.

We are informed that the wicked flee when no man pursueth. Out of politeness we refrain from suggesting what kind of a nation it is that defends when no man attacketh.

IRENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C1

Phoney War continued

OUR defences are in a bad way. Assuming that the Russians are waiting like hounds in leash to leap upon Christendom and tear it to pieces at the earliest opportunity, those people who believe that weapons will save them from that fate must be feeling pretty anxious.

The House of Representatives has imposed a 50 per cent. cut on the European arms aid programme.

Yet when the first estimate was made, it was agreed that even it would be insufficient to prevent Europe from being overrun by the Red Army. After the cut, we can only conclude that Europe will be overrun even quicker.

The plan for war remains the same: the European countries are to stand the first impact of the Red invasion and hold it up as long as possible until the atom bombs distract the enemy's attention from behind. But the Europeans will have less to do it with, that's all.

"Cannon Fodder"

BEFORE this cut, there had been plenty of European protest against a plan which laid Europeans open to destruction to suit a policy imposed upon them from elsewhere.

Pertinax, of Paris-Soir, said he feared the decisions reached by the U.S. joint Chiefs of Staff "would jeopardise the very existence of our nations, since they will be adopted without asking our opinion."

According to the New York Daily News, representatives of the State Department informed Mr. Acheson that many Western European leaders were beginning to regret that their countries had signed the Atlantic Treaty: "The crude political pressure exercised by General Bradley has aroused resentment, and the peoples of Europe are pointing out that war is not inevitable, at least in so far as it depends on them."

Russian Press and radio naturally makes the most of this situation. Izvestia says: "US Imperialist quarters make no bones about openly considering Western Europe as their military stronghold and supplier of cannon fodder."

I LEFT Berlin a few days after the lifting of the blockade and came back three weeks later. The situation had changed very much.

The food supply has improved considerably. This is due to the quantities that arrive from the West in river barges, additional to the air-bridge, and to the free entrance of potatoes, vegetables, etc., from the Russian Zone. Coal is available without smuggling and at a reasonable price. The shops are beginning to look like those in Western Germany.

In spite of this wonderful progress, however, life in another way was for some time more miserable than ever, owing to the railway strike, which was not a strike for higher wages but part of the political struggle between the great Powers. It is ridiculous to say, as both military commanders, East and West, have done, that this was an inner-German affair. It would not have happened without the presence of two "hostile Allies."

The consequence? Everybody living in cities like London, Paris and New York is able to imagine what would happen if railway traffic came to an absolute standstill. I usually needed one hour to get to my work, during the strike it took me two and a half hours, which meant that I had to spend five hours every day in overcrowded tramways and buses, with the result that there was no possibility of any private life. At least one million people were in the same plight.

It is useless to discuss the details of what all this was for. Another observation seems to me to be more to the point.

* * *

It is said that there are two parties, but in quite another sense.

One party, is the political people on both sides. They all talk much the same language, about "winning positions," about the adversary having been forced into "the defensive"—a language in which military expressions abound.

All these political people have the pleasure of the excitement, are thrilled by the waves of failure and success.

It is their game that is played, and they have little or no consideration for the man in the street, unless for the purpose of winning him over to their "fronts."

And on the other side there are the common people. Those millions who are little interested in whether the one or the other group of the "big people" will win. They have nothing to do with the blockade, the railway strike, the cold war, except that they are suffering, as in history they always have done. They suffered in Ger-

Commentary

It adds that before the ratification, European politicians used to talk about the "Atlantic Commonwealth of Nations," but now they no longer conceal the fact that the treaty was established to meet American interests.

And they might add, if they have read Mr. Johnson's speech, "American Security."

Eastern Europe radio broadcast Gerhard Eisler, who said that US Chiefs of Staff, who were visiting Europe as commercial travellers for the US armament industry, looked on Germans in much the same way as the owners of the big Chicago slaughter houses look on their cattle.

And don't they?

IT is not easy to deny these charges.

Louis Johnson, US Defence Secretary, giving evidence before the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committee, said: "Should Western Europe be overrun, and its industrial and man-power potentials be added to those of an aggressor, US would stand isolated in a dangerously insecure position. US security, therefore, demands that Europe be safeguarded."

The US government, therefore, cannot blame Europeans for putting the worst construction on that statement: that in all this plan, US is thinking of its own interests, at whatever cost in expense, anxiety and perhaps destruction for Europe.

But where's that unity?

THE reason given for this cut in military aid is interesting and significant.

According to Francis Williams, Observer Washington correspondent, the Staff Chiefs, on their return from Europe, "failed to convince Congress critics that real unification of European defence strategy and command was in sight or was acceptable to a majority of European governments."

Is it possible there may be other reasons for this reluctance to unite in defence? Are the European countries really alarmed as Americans make out, or as Americans are themselves?

It may be that the European politicians, being the nearest to the hypothetical source of danger, are compelled by their very geographical position to regard the whole situation more realistically than hysterically, and before co-operating in plans for their wholesale destruction, want to know a very good reason why.

The truth is that unification of any sort is not yet in sight.

No one can yet say what the Congress of Strasbourg is supposed to be going to do. But what is already clear is the degree of deep dissension between its members, reflecting those within the countries themselves. The conflicting ideologies within each nation are inevitably carried into the larger field of European Federation.

The Conservatives of each nation obviously regard European unity as a means of combining forces against Social Democracy. The French, through old fears and antagonisms, cannot make up their minds about the inclusion of Germany—without which European Federation would be just a bad joke.

Unifying Principle needed

BUT there is nothing in all this to be cynical about. Federation must begin somewhere. It simply means there can be no federation until the units are united within themselves upon at least a minimum of principle and intention.

It is not to be expected that States will willingly abandon their sovereignty, either in politics, economics or military defence, until it is quite clear what they are abandoning it for.

Modern Europe is split, just as each separate country is split, on the fundamental questions of social equality versus social privilege, and planned economy versus laissez-faire. On which economic principle, then, can European economic unity be based?

A dozen disunities do not make one unity, any more than two drunken men clinging to each other for support make one steady pedestrian. And the problem for European Federation, like that of World Government, is to decide the minimum basis from which unity can proceed.

Failing a real basis it will fall back on a negative reactionary one—a military bloc, in which "human rights" are confined within the limits of military conscription.

There is much talk today about the common cultural and moral heritage of Europe, as if Europe were still Christendom. That began to crack in the 13th century. The Renaissance broke it up, with willing help from the merchant princes, the pioneer bankers and the competing power politicians of Church and State.

Nothing less than another Renaissance will put Humpty Dumpty together again.

LETTER FROM BERLIN

By Heinz Kraschutzki

many under William II and the subsequent occupation of part of Germany. They suffered under Hitler and the subsequent occupation of all Germany. They are suffering now.

I know a poor woman whose only son, in consequence of the abnormal situation in Berlin in these post-war years, was sentenced to a term of imprisonment. I also know the boy.

Recently he was released, and his mother came to take him home. I heard her saying, "My dear boy, we need not have much money. If you remain an honest boy, we two shall be so happy!"

But will he?

He has the best intentions, I know it. But in consequence of the railway strike it will be quite impossible for him to find a job. His fate will be that of a strong young man doing nothing; his old comrades will be trying to lure him away once more to new crimes. They alone have something to offer him, the political people have nothing.

Will he resist? I am afraid this mother's hope will fail. And if her boy slides down once more, it will be for ever. Her only hope in life will be betrayed.

This woman has a right to live, to see her ideal come true. She has the same right, or more, as the political people have to get their satisfaction out of political wrangling. And she is one of millions.

For many young people the question whether they will be able to marry soon is more important than the question of East or West. They cannot do so, as long as unemployment continues in both sectors owing to the political muddle.

Many a student, when his father loses his job owing to the cold war, has to give up his career, the ideal of his youth, for ever. So many hopes destroyed, so many efforts in vain . . .

A cold war is only another sort of war. In a hot war, the military people, though risking their lives, at least have their excitement, their fun, their decorations. The vast majority of people, in the hot war as well as in the cold, are only sufferers, quiet, too quiet, too obedient.

This is why I am opposed to the cold war as well as to the hot. I am not interested in the question of whether it ends in the one or the other way, I only am interested that it ends soon.

My sentiments go not with the political people, but with the common man, where so often I find common sense.

This does not mean that I am opposed to the idea of non-violent resistance. I should like to see more of it in this world. But what goes on in Berlin, the blockade, the railway strike, is no display of Gandhi's methods.

Gandhi was opposed to violence because it was not compatible with his noble character. The two opponents in Berlin are just not yet using violence, because each of them is afraid that the other might have too much of it.

Gandhi was always willing to come to terms with his adversary, he never yielded to fear. But as for the two adversaries in the Berlin struggle, it is only fear that keeps each of them from cutting the other's throat.

We, as pacifists, should be opposed to a cold war as well as to a hot one. And we should never forget that our place is at the side of the common man, of those who suffer. It is there that our hope rests, it is there that we shall find our friends, not among fanatical political people.

I AM SMILING

THIS has been a record fortnight for Headquarters Fund.

I first received a cheque for £1 hoping that 99 others would send a similar amount. A few days later I received a cheque for £30. Now as we go to press, our National Chairman offers me £25 for Headquarters Fund in the hope that at least three members or groups would also send me £25—in the next fortnight, if possible.

I am not including this £25 in the total below, in the hope that I may be able to add the other £75 next time. In the meanwhile I want to express our gratitude to those who have given us such encouragement, and my very earnest hope that this generosity and the challenge of our National Chairman will stimulate others to a special effort in the immediate future. I shall open my letters with a special sense of anticipation and the certainty that you will keep me smiling.

MAUD ROWNTREE,...

Honorary Treasurer.

Amount received since August 4	£34 9s. 7d.
Total received to date	£105 15s. 3d.
Budget 1949:	£300
Amount still required	£149 4s. 9d.

Donations to the fund should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C1

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ON May Day

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At the General Election
will pacifists provide

OIL or GRIT

for the war machine

ON May Day 1920, Dr. Orchard stood "and watched the May Day procession staggering along to Hyde Park. Somewhere near the end of the procession was a small group headed by a Crucifix. A handful of Pacifist Socialists were bravely making their witness in Labour's procession. In his sermon at Kings Weigh House Chapel the following Sunday, Dr. Orchard said: "My hope is that in the course of a few years the crucifix will climb higher up in the procession, until it gets to the very front." The Crucifix dropped out entirely a few years later.

Some of us remember that Cross, and we shared the high hopes of Dr. Orchard, that it would ultimately triumph. Indeed, in the ensuing years the Labour Party declared for a General Strike in the event of a threat of war. But by the early thirties, the anti-war resolutions at the Annual Conference were beaten by ten to one. No such resolutions have been put forward for many years. It seems the unlikely issue ever to be before a Labour Party Annual Conference again.

It is the same with conscientious objectors. We disturbed Parliaments, and became objects of public contempt and hatred in the first World War. We were a handful

of grit thrown into the War Machine, and how the Machine growled and scrunched! But like true grit we were not broken, and the Machine had to allow us to wear grooves into its vital parts. The noise ceased long before 1938. We were comfortably assimilated. The edge went off war-resistance. The Government adapted Conscriptio Acts to meet our objections. We acquiesced. By 1939 the pacifist had won a place in the war economy; war resisters were given places in the War Cabinet. That is the age-long recipe for the treatment of rebels. During the second World War, we did not trouble the Government, so since its conclusion, the Government is not troubled about us, neither is the general public.

It is the same with pacifism. After the first World War we set out to make a reality of the statesmen's promises of a warless world. We had our demonstrations, crowded meetings, and did extensive propaganda. The nation was interested. It listened.

Great demonstrations are not possible today. The public is not interested. Worse still, pacifists would not dream of staging them. Pacifism, like pacifists, has worn its narrow groove in public thought. It is given a harmless recognition.

So many pacifists seem so grateful for this recognition that they go on tip-toe, and speak in whispers. Pacifism is no longer a crime. It is effectively smothered in the Churches and in the political parties. So our two most promising fields of action seem to be cleverly sealed against further penetration.

The War Machine works more quietly and more efficiently in this country than ever before. Everyone—or nearly everyone—has become an oiler.

But next year there will be a fresh heap of sand—for the gritters. Who will throw a handful? No, of course, no one likes doing it, but perhaps civilisation still depends on us.

FRANK HANCOCK

Pacifist witness through the Press

LETTERS to the Press reaffirming the adherence of individual pacifists and groups to their pledge not to take part in or prepare for war should be posted off not later than Sunday, August 28, if they are to appear on the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of World War II.

The following letter from the Chairman of a PPU Group appeared in several North London papers in 1948:

"On the anniversary of the outbreak of World War II our group wish publicly to re-affirm their adherence to the declaration of the War Resister's International that 'War is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war.'"

"We would invite those of your readers who have a concern for the preserving of peace to join with us in our work to abolish war."

War Resistance in the USA

A nation-wide survey

FROM the War Resisters' League in New York comes news of a pacifist "field trip" undertaken last Spring by Roy Kepler, when he covered nearly twelve thousand miles in twenty-five states.

Concentrating mainly on churches, colleges and schools, this young pacifist addressed 87 different groups; only one meeting (at Purdue University) was banned and had to be held off campus.

He also had half-an-hour's interview on a Californian Radio network, when the WRL and pacifism generally were discussed.

WHILST he found considerable interest in pacifist ideas, Roy Kepler did not get the impression that there was any real pacifist movement in the U.S.—"if by movement we mean a cohesive grouping of people working together to forward a fairly specific set of principles and practices." The chief organisational loyalty was with the FoR, since the majority of American pacifists tend to have some kind of religious attitude.

The number of pacifist sympathisers, however, was growing, and activity on college campuses had recently increased. Many teachers were pacifist as individuals but did not wish to be set apart from their communities. Students, although very much "propagandised" by the cold war, were amazingly open to fresh analysis.

He quotes an appraisal of the American student by Huntley Dupre of Macalester College, Minnesota:

"American students constitute unreal human islands of pleasure and phantasy in a world of agony, confusion and despair... They are pleasure-mad... They have no solid ideological and moral foundation, and are unwilling to pay the hard price of mind and heart for such foundations. They are warm and responsive to human needs when informed and aroused, but these humane impulses do not become steady habits and convictions."

Roy Kepler stresses the need for a basic pacifist analysis, related to the real world of today, and for the social organisation of non-violence. He found a marked inclination to "retreat into private life" amongst both pacifists and non-pacifists. Pacifists were perhaps too comfortable and respectable, and relegated their pacifism to the realm of "good ideas."

The working classes were practically untouched by the pacifist movement, which was centred chiefly on schools and churches. Nevertheless, much radical activity was being undertaken by the Friends' Service Committee, Brethren Service Committee, Women's International League, etc., all of which had the common positive motive of "service."

The most significant pacifist group he

found to be the "Peacemakers" at Yellow Springs, Ohio, who had become an integral part of the whole community. A WRL branch had begun to function at Boston and was getting off to a determined start. Other groups were experimenting with community farms, one had started a pacifist radio station and many were engaged in the arts.

The beginning of a student federation against war may, he says, grow out of a group in New York initiated mainly by the Independent Socialist League. It was hoped that the WRL would become a sponsoring body.

For the future, Roy Kepler urges more factual information (possibly through a pacifist newspaper); the development of pacifist theory and practice; and the necessity to stand forth clearly as believers in non-violence and war-resistance.

In America, he says, there is an underlying uneasiness in the knowledge that war provides no answer and no solution to international problems; and an underlying readiness to listen to new ideas—"if somebody will only break the spell, propose the new ideas, show the new methods... There is still the ambivalence in our society of being anti-war and anti-militarist while preparing for war and glorifying the militarist as a sort of camouflaged civilian."

M.T.

WIL CONFER IN DENMARK

From Barbara M. Coppock, COPENHAGEN

IN this lovely alive looking city, amid its be-flowered balconies and coloured blinds and pavement cafés, some 260 delegates and visitors are assembled in the Christiansborg Castle for the eleventh International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. In the splendid hall blue and white banners hang upon its walls, showing the League's ensign of green leaves encircling the golden letters PAX.

There are large delegations from Scandinavia, USA, Great Britain and France, one delegate from Australia, one from Czechoslovakia, one from Iceland and a little group from Germany.

Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, sent a very encouraging message. Mrs. Swaminathan spoke briefly, reminding the congress that it was the second anniversary of India's independence.

Resolutions passed include the urging of ratification of the Declaration of Human Rights, International Right of Conscientious Objection to Military Service, Peace Education of Children, etc.

There is a strong sense of the urgency of the occasion, but an absence of panic, and a feeling of solid determination to work out the basic good that will bring ultimate peace.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

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NEWSPAPER WRAPPERS good quality cream wave 10 in. x 4 in. (as used in PN office) 2s. 100, 17s. 6d. 1,000 post free. Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

ECONOMY LABELS for re-using envelopes. Large, good quality, cheap; publishing Peace News. Post free, for 1s., 50; 1s. 9d., 100; 15s., 1,000. Also plain economy labels 1s., 100; 5s. 6d., 1,000 post free. Peace News, Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

LITERATURE, &c.

BOOK LOVERS visiting Paris call and see French friends at the Librairie Papeterie, 6 Rue du Pre-aux-Clercs, Paris, 7e.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

"A POWERFUL and telling appeal for a thorough going pacifism" is how the Church of England Newspaper describes Rev. Edis Fairbairn's controversial Apostate Christendom, a pungent indictment of the hypocrisy of the Churches. You must read it. 3s. 9d. post free. Ken-Pax Publishing Co., Ltd., Kingsway Hall, W.C.2.

PERSONAL

FOSTER HOMES urgently required for two boys, 9 and years whose mother should have residential treatment for Tuberculosis. Payment 21s. p.w. each, clothing provided. Apply Secretary, Invalid Children's Aid Association, 4 Palace Gate, W.8.

MARRIAGE BUREAU. Suitable introductions arranged privately. Details free Mary Blair (Room 59), 147 Holborn, E.C.1. PPU Group.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Situations are available only to applicants excepted from the Control of Engagement Order, 1947, No. 2021.

LINOTYPE OPERATOR and Compositor wanted (TU) for work on newspaper. No Saturdays. Permanency for right men. Write or phone: W. F. Clifford Printing Co. Ltd., 12g Manor Road, N.16. STA 2943.

OFFICE ASSISTANT. Peace News has a vacancy for an adaptable young person to assist generally in the office. No experience necessary—school leaver welcomed. 5-day week, interesting and varied work. Apply in writing to the Manager, Peace News, Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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FIRST-CLASS duplicating, etc. Mabel Evelyn, 29 Rokesby Avenue, London, N.8. MOU 1701.

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TWO YOUNG men, ex-CCOs seek work within a travelling distance of St. Helens. Wigan, Warrington, Liverpool, Widnes, Ormskirk, on a training basis and wage. Ages 21 and 25.

COUPLE WANT to care for large family under five. Any suggestions? Would consider progressive employment. Cook-handyman, work alternative. Box 84.

YOUNG MAN, CO, age 23, single, seeks interesting job. Any offers? Box 85. MAN WITH taste and discrimination wants post London or near. Able correspondent; can cook, drive and manage a house. Panley, 22 Chestow Villas, W.11

PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Day time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in, to Peace News (STA 2262), 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook stationers) Finsbury Park, N.4. (one minute from station).

MISCELLANEOUS

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRL, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

Essential Reading
for Active Pacifists

THE PPU JOURNAL

Monthly Fourpence
From Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, or your local PPU Group (Postage 1d.)

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Sunday, August 28

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting: Sybil Morrison; PPU.

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting: Stoke Newington Peace Group.

HIGHBURY CORNER: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting: Islington PPU.

Thursday, September 1

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting: PPU.

Friday, September 2

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Ends Gardens; Meeting: Central London Group.

Saturday, September 3

GLoucester: 3 p.m. Unitarian Room, 100 St. Peter's Street (opp. Plaza Cinema): "A Peace 7 Then Clear Thinking Now." Speakers: Vera Brittain; Chairman: Miss Minto; Gloucester PPU and FoR.

Sunday, September 4

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street; London Area meeting; special discussion: "Pacifist Candidates and Pacifist Responsibility." Election Times." London Area

FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

FROM PAGE ONE

to eliminate hatred. We must stop the fury of propaganda that fills us first with fear, and then with hatred. Let us learn to pluck the beam from our own eye.

Mr. Ronald Chamberlain, MP, explained the programme of the Crusade for World Government. He said that the basic idea was to establish the rule of international law by obtaining some surrender of the sovereignty of individual nations and by the democratic election of a world government directly representative of the people.

Mr. Chamberlain said the danger of conventions for peace was that they would dissipate their energies in fine thinking and splendid resolutions. They should be pinned down to a programme of action.

Be more practical than the devil

Speaking as a loyal supporter of the Labour Government, Mr. Chamberlain said: "If all religions were putting forward a combined programme for peace, I don't think the Governments of the world could stand in the way. You have to be more practical than the devil. Come together.—Draw up a programme."

Corder Catchpool spoke as a member of the Society of Friends. "Here in this room," he said, "We have East and West forming one fellowship. This is the foundation of world peace. If the professing religious folk of the world were really united, you would have world peace. But the spirit and the practical means must go together."

Peace, he said, was an essential element in the Quaker faith, and added: "The Inward Light means that all mankind partakes of the divine nature. All men are God's children. Therefore human life is sacred, and the destruction, injury and exploitation of the human race is blasphemy."

The following resolutions were passed:

1 "Global war in this atomic age may lead to the destruction of the human race. This London Convention on the Foundations of Peace earnestly appeals to Mr. Attlee, Mr. Stalin and Mr. Truman to come together at a special conference to settle all political and economic problems amicably for the best interests of all tribes, races and nations."

2 "The London Convention on the Foundations of Peace at its second evening session appeals to all peace-lovers, whether Theist, Atheist or agnostic to form a united front for world peace on the basis of the oneness of life which is corroborated by modern science and implied in all religions."

The Convention continued until today. A further report will appear in our next issue.

REGISTRATION DAY POSTER PARADE

North London pacifists will poster parade along a six mile route from Finsbury Park to the Hackney Labour Exchange on the morning of registration day, Saturday, September 3.

The names of volunteers for this procession should be sent to Hugh Brock, 8 Blackstock Road, N4. Phone STA 2262.

Those unable to assemble outside Peace News office at 10 a.m. are invited to join the procession at the following points (times are approximate): Holloway Road underground station. (10.45 a.m.); Highbury underground station (11 a.m.).

Volunteers to give out leaflets and to sell Peace News are also wanted to walk along with the poster paraders.

In the afternoon, Labour Exchanges at Islington and Hackney will be picketed and open air meetings held.

Further details of registration day activities will appear in next week's Peace News.

Hospitality for Swiss pacifists

Baroness Heyking has written from Lausanne to ask our help in connection with Marcel Blank and Jean Dubris, two Swiss Christian pacifists aged 25 years. They have a thorough knowledge of agricultural work, building in wood or masonry, and are very willing to make themselves useful in any sort of capacity indoors or outdoors. They are anxious to learn the English language perfectly.

Would any reader of Peace News who is prepared to provide them with board, lodging, and a little pocket money in return for their help, please write to Stuart Morris, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, WC1.

RICH-FLOWERING Anemones

AS GROWN IN CORNWALL BY THE MILLION!!

Finest mixed colours, including the choicest red, scarlet, lilac, mauve, blue and purple varieties.

Size 2-3 cm. circumference. 85/- per 1,000. Topsize corns, all colours mixed, 11/6 per 100. Darwin Tulips, mixed 17/-, 100; Daffodils and Narcissus, mixed 19/-, 100; Crocus, all colours, 7/-, 100; Alliums, 9/-, 100; Winter Aconites, 9/-, 100; Grape Hyacinths, 9/-, 100; Scilla Siberica, 9/-, 100; Ranunculus, French Hybrids, 10/-, 100; Iris, mixed, 10/-, 100; Snowdrops, 10/-, 100. Post paid.

Full list free on application. MAASKANT & CO. Bulb growers, (Dept. P.) WEST HAM, LONDON, E.15.

CONSCRIPTION IN NEW ZEALAND

"Sounds death-knell for Labour Government"

From A. C. BARRINGTON,

—LOWER MOUTERE, N.Z.

I SUPPOSE the result of the Conscription referendum was a foregone conclusion, though I hoped it would be otherwise.

Compared with the massed might of both political parties, and with the Labour Government sparing no expense on publicity for a "yes" vote (and probably subsidising heavy expenditure by the Joint Action Defence Committee of the Returned Servicemen's organisations), the peace force seemed puny. They had no resources in money and only voluntary spare-time personnel.

Nevertheless, a vote of 152,443 against conscription is not to be despised in a country with a long tradition of militarism and jingoism, where almost every post-primary school has a cadet corps in which every boy serves, and a country which proudly boasts of providing more men and material proportionately than any other Dominion, whether for the Boer War or either world war.

When the excitement and fervour of the contest die down, doubts and misgivings may set in on the part of many of the "yes" voters; and the rather still small voice of the opponents may be remembered and begin to have effect.

If the 152,000 could be counted on to stand firm, conscription would not work; but that is too much to expect as yet.

Trouble Ahead for CO's

The Prime Minister and Leader of Opposition were united in jubilation as they had been in the campaign, the latter (Mr. S. G. Holland) even forgetting to conceal his teeth and saying:

"Now that the scheme has been approved the greatest care must be taken not to allow people to escape their just obligations by conveniently held conscientious objections . . . There will be the strongest public resentment if some people have to serve while others escape their obligations. By all means let us have the appeal system for genuine conscientious objectors, but it will have to be much more stringently administered than was the case during the late war."

That in a country already notorious for its harsh treatment of COs (800 spending three to five years behind barbed wire in detention camps or prisons, and still debarred from voting).

Two days before the poll Mr. Holland was declaring at a public meeting:

"Adequate provision would be made for conscientious objectors."

His audience might have thought he meant better, not worse, provision.

How They Voted

Sixty per cent. of the electors voted, compared with 54 per cent. in a poll five months ago on licensing and gaming issues.

In the 1946 General Election, 1,046,000 valid votes were cast in an electorate of 1,110,000 whereas 685,000 voted on the Conscription Referendum, i.e., 425,000 did not vote. It is possible that a high proportion of these may have been Labour supporters unwilling to vote against the Government; many, of course, may have been Church members.

No Church except the Quakers came out

P.P.U. London area notes

COURSE IN PUBLIC SPEAKING

THE second of the London Area's "Speakers' Get Togethers" is planned for Monday, September 5, at 7 p.m. at Dick Sheppard House (refreshments from 6.30 p.m.) when beginners will try out five minute speeches on "Why I am a Pacifist" or some special aspect of pacifism chosen by the speaker, and receive advice and instruction from some of the more experienced speakers.

A course in Public Speaking is to be planned, probably on the first Monday of each month. Admission will be one shilling including refreshments (Circle members free).

Garden Party

A Garden Party is to be held at King Alfred School, North End Road, NW11, on Sunday, September 11, offers of help with refreshments and gifts for the Pounds for Peace Stall will be welcomed. These should be items weighing one pound, for sale on the day, and may be sent in advance to Molly Barlex, 219 Croydon Road, Beckenham, Kent, or brought to the stall. More cricketers are also needed for the London Area team.

Area Council

The next Area Council meeting is on Sunday, September 4 at 3 p.m. at Dick Sheppard House. Part of the meeting will be devoted to a discussion on "Pacifist Candidates and Pacifist Responsibility at Election Times."

against conscription; there was support from sections of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, for the rest silence.

Strong Maori Opposition

The highest percentage of votes against conscription was in the Maori electorates! The electorate with the smallest majority for conscription was Western Maori, 2,941 for, 2,240 against.

Maoris have never been conscripted, but it is interesting that they should vote fairly strongly against it when their MPs were campaigning for it.

Mr. F. Langstone, the only Labour MP to campaign against conscription, said in a Press Association message:

"It must be obvious that there are tens of thousands of people in New Zealand who fall into the category of those classified with Communists and fellow-travellers. This alone would sound the death-knell of the Labour Government, but when it is considered that not more than 25 per cent. of the people were given the opportunity of hearing the other side of the story the result is very heartening. Even the present figures constitute a moral victory for anti-conscription."

Towards Catastrophe

The Press Association also published Ormond Burton's comment:

"We are naturally disappointed at the heavy vote for conscription, but we do not find it surprising as there was very little opposition based on any fundamental grounds."

"Movement to the catastrophe of a third world war now seems inevitable."

"We feel that the decision is not one based on the principles of Christ, and we of the Christian Pacifist Society cannot accept it. We shall continue to teach our views and bear witness to these, even if this leads us once more to the detention camps and prisons."

"No decision is a right one unless it is a Christian one."

Mr. H. G. Kilpatrick, official Labour candidate for Harunui, has withdrawn his candidature as a result of the poll, declaring:

"My view of our Parliamentary representation is that, with one exception, we apparently have the biggest collection of political 'rabbits,' 'yes-men' and phobiaridden politicians in both parties that has ever been elected in New Zealand . . ."

"I happen to be one of those persons who will not support policies which I feel to be deeply wrong and against the best interests of the working people . . . Along with many thousands of others I now feel that on the basic question of peace and war I have no representation whatever in Parliament. The bi-partisan foreign policy pursued on the fundamental question means that there is no real effective Opposition in Parliament at present."

"In common with the many thousands who voted 'No' I agree that the country needs defending—and I will say further that the first thing it needs defending against is the present collection of subservient, bankrupt politicians who can see no other way out of the world's difficulties than to train young men for destruction."

Legislation will be needed to implement CMT and it is expected that 18-year-olds will not commence to go into camp for the 14 weeks period until May, 1950.

Only alternative to US domination

"IT can be said that the Economic Federation of Europe is the first and only alternative to complete domination by the USA," said Ray Cryer, speaking at the Bristol Central PPU Group on Wednesday.

It would mean at the outset the creation of a European Central Bank to control the movement and use of money, a standardised transport system, the lowering of tariff barriers and a possible migration of labour. Eventually it would involve a European central control of housing, land, health and education.

Britain would have to fit in with the European scheme and all countries within it would no longer compete with each other but would be called upon to contribute to the general effort to lift the standard of European life.

The report covered the studies pursued by the Adult School Union of England and Germany at their recent Summer School in Germany.

M.B.

Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

'Let not your peace rest in the utterances of men, for whether they put a bad or good construction on your conduct, does not make you other than you are.'

Thomas à Kempis

LAST week's "Ten Years Ago" was an ironic comment on Mr. Churchill's passionate pleading at Strasbourg on behalf of the German people, who ten years ago he was indicting as the only enemies to peace.

And it was also a salutary reminder to pacifists of the kind of misunderstanding which they must be prepared to accept and endure. Friendship with, and understanding of the peoples of other countries is a necessary part of the pacifist creed, but to desire understanding of another country let alone seek it by joining any organisation whose purpose is to promote such understanding is to court the label "pro-enemy"; Germany ten years ago, Russia today.

Pro-Nazis and Fellow-travellers

In 1939 membership of an Anglo-German organisation turned pacifists into "pro-Nazis"; in 1949 membership of the British Soviet Society or even an attempt to extend some tolerance to the Soviet point of view will turn pacifists into "fellow-travellers," if not worse!

A very sincere and earnest young man at an open-air meeting recently informed me with considerable passion that Russia has more men under arms than any other country, probably had the secret of the atom bomb and was making preparations to use it. "Only a Communist like you," he said, "would want to excuse it."

It is curious that the British people, who so short a time ago were supporting the sending of arms to Russia at the great risk of suffering and endurance of British sailors braving the cold of the Arctic seas and the bitter bombing of German sea-planes who were thrilled to hear of the exploits of the great Red Army, should now believe that Russia should have disarmed after the war, when we ourselves are by no means prepared to do so. It is no doubt true that Russia with something like 400 million population has millions of men under arms, but Britain and America between them also have millions of men under arms.

Modern Press-gang

All over the world there are men under arms and scientists devoting their time to methods of destruction. In this country for the first time since the Press-gang there is peace-time conscription.

Next week-end, on Sept. 3, the tenth anniversary of the second world war fought to preserve democracy and freedom, young boys of eighteen will be registering for military service.

It is not pacifists who excuse or condone the continuation of armaments either in Russia, here, or anywhere else in the world. On the contrary, they believe peace is impossible so long as the race goes on. Britain is afraid of Russia, Russia is afraid of Britain. If we are afraid because Russia has not disarmed we must expect Russia to be afraid because we have not if it is wrong for Russia to conscript millions into the forces then it is wrong for us to do so.

Conscription is not the way to prove we are a peace-loving nation; training boys to kill is not the way to make them peace-loving citizens.

To say this to an audience is to be labelled "Communist," just as in 1939 we were labelled "Nazi." So long as ordinary people believe in war, pacifists, who are enemies to war, will be labelled enemies in their own country in time of crisis.

To be a pacifist is to be a revolutionary for abandonment of force is a completely revolutionary idea. We know that we are neither pro-Nazi nor pro-Communist, but pro-peace; it is not the labels that matter, it is what we are and what we do that matters.

We can all do something

The tenth anniversary of the war is today on which we can all do something. There is a leaflet, reproduced from the column of May 27, which was specially written for last registration day, published by the No Conscription Council. It is designed particularly for the boys who are registering but more to appeal to the science and sense of responsibility of British citizens, who, through their apathy have let this thing happen to the youth of their country.

Supplies of the leaflet can be had from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, WC1, or No Conscription Council, Cross Mission, Crestfield Street, WC1. Every reader of Peace News will give away even half a dozen, something will have been done for peace.

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